1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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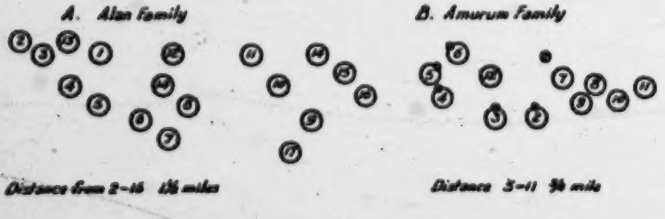
near to the Zangon Katab market, were rich, and could influence the parents of women they wished to secure as brides. 621 162

Of the wives, 17 were primary and 39 secondary, i.e. 70 per cent of the wives were women who had run away from members of other sub-clans, clans, or tribes. (Of the total, 35 belonged to the Agbat clan, 4 to the Aswen clan, being wives of members of other clans resident at Kibori, and the remainder were obtained from neighbouring tribes.) Nineteen of the 20 households belonged to one kindred, which consisted of two extended families, 6 belonged to the family of Amurum, and 13 to that of Alan. The remaining household belonged to another subdivision (Awai) of the sub-clan (Aswen). The attached genealogical table shows the relationship between the 19 heads of compounds composing the kindred. The second table shows the plan of the village-area.

KIBORI VILLAGE AREA.—KINDRED—AMURUM ALAN—SUB-CLAN ASWEN-CLAN 621



[361]

A

(1)	Occupied by the political head of the village, his mother, wives, two grown-up sons, their wives and children . (See genealogical table)	Householder Yakuba (Political Chief)
(2)	Occupied by the elder brother of the village head (who had formerly been village head but resigned owing to old age), wives, son, and son's wives . . .	Kaza.
(3)	Occupied by a distant paternal cousin of (1), his wives' children, and one brother	Agwabin.
(4)	Occupied by sister of (1), her husband and children .	Bamai.
(5)	Occupied by son's son of (1), his wife and children . .	Akut.
(6)	Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (1), his wife and children.	
(7)	Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (3) . . .	Mugu.
(8)	Occupied by a man of the Kpaisa sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives, children, son, and son's wives . . .	Akut.
(9)	Occupied by distant cousin's wife, children, cousin, and cousin's wives and children	Gado.
(10)	Occupied by a man of Nje sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives and cousin	Jatau.
(11)	Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children	Buhu.

[text continues on p. 15]

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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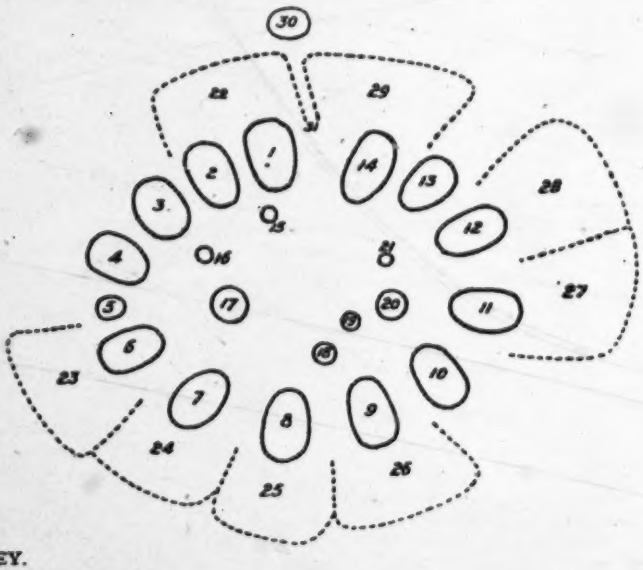
The following is a plan of a typical Katab compound :—

592
361



KEY.

(1) Hut of the master of the compound.
(2) Hut of the second wife of the master of the compound.
(3) Empty hut of runaway wife of master of the compound.
(4) Empty hut of runaway wife of master of the compound.
(5) Disused hut built to fill in space between (4) and (6).
(6) Hut of first wife of elder son.
(7) Hut of second wife of elder son.
(8) Hut of mother of the master of the compound.
(9) Hut of first wife of younger son.
(10) Empty hut of younger son's runaway wife.
(11) Hut of second wife of younger son.
(12) Hut of third wife of younger son.
(13) Hut used by master of compound and his two sons as a common meeting room and dining room.
(14) Hut of the principal wife and mistress of the compound.
(15) Small granary containing grain for use of master of the compound.
(16) Small granary containing grain for use of elder son.
(17) Large granary containing grain belonging to elder son.
(18) Goat pen belonging to elder son.
(19) Goat pen belonging to younger son.
(20) Large granary containing grain belonging to younger son.
(21) Small granary containing grain belonging to younger son.
(22–29) Bean gardens of the various wives and of the mother of the master of the compound.

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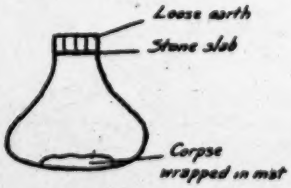
(30) Hut common to all female members of the compound for grinding grain.
(31) Entrance to compound.

Young male children sleep in mother's hut until age of 5. They then get huts of their own. Female children remain in mother's hut until they marry.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

with ululations and the blowing of horns. He handed the head to a relative who put a string through the lips and danced about with it. He himself went straight to the priestly family which had charge of the head-hunting rites. From them he received a protecting draught consisting of some palm and mahogany oil intermixed with a few drops of the blood from the head. He was subjected to numerous taboos. He was not allowed to speak or touch the ground, being carried round on the shoulders of friends in the same way as a successful athlete in England. After the dance the warrior was taken to his house. The head was buried in mud by the priestly family and when it was clean of all flesh was deposited in the skull hut, which was to be found in every Kagoro village. When this was done a feast was held, but at this feast no women or young people were allowed to be present. All congratulated and thanked the warrior, holding up to him the index finger of the right hand, a mode of salutation to which he became entitled for the rest of his life. The Kagoro refrained from taking the heads of their Morwa and Katab neighbours, confining their energies to the Ataka and Kaje tribes. In times of war the Kagoro abstained from drinking beer. Their villages were protected by hedges of cactus which provided good cover for discharging their arrows. The hills and caves in the rear offered a safe retreat if they were driven out of their villages.

The Kagoro grave is of the decanter type, a type which may have had its origin in pot burial.



As stated in the Katab report, the Kagoro tribal marks are similar to those of the Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and Kagoma. The Kagoro call the Katab "Atiap", the Morwa "Asulio", the Kaje "Ajio", the Fulani "Fata", and the Hausa "Akpat". They call themselves the Agwǫlǫk.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Morwa

Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

The district consists of a number of village-areas of which the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there

Kaje, somewhat fewer with Kagoro.[2] (As will be seen, Birom and Irigwe especially show some evidence of other links with the Katab group.)

(ii) *Form of Dwelling*

According to Meek, a distinctive type of dwelling-house is built by all members of the Katab Group in Zaria, and by Kagoma; there is no information on Kaninkon. Meek adds that Jaba and Kagoma are the most expert builders, and suggests that the common use by Ataka and Kagoro of a more conventional type of dwelling (the round mud house, with conical thatched roof) may indicate that they have only recently adopted the style.

Meek gives detailed diagrams of the characteristic Katab house-type, which is spacious and oval in ground-plan (roughly 30 ft. by 18 ft., walls 3 to 4 ft. high); the roof does not rise to a peak at the centre, symmetrical from all angles, but slopes gently upwards to a point high above the rear of the house (away from the single small circular door), whence it falls away sharply. The interior is sub-divided into a number of compartments on the ground floor, which is a maze of cylindrical pillar-granaries entered only from the attic, and so built as to give support to the soaring roof. The floors are made more durable by having pieces of broken pottery beaten into the surface and patterns of cowries are sometimes inserted. The walls may be smeared with red earth mixed with *dafara* [Hausa, a particular vegetable juice] which prevents vermin from ascending to the lofts where property is stored.[3]

Throughout the area there has been the usual dispersal of settlement incident to shifting cultivation. Formerly, Kagoro and Moroa most notably maintained inaccessible hill-top villages protected by spiny euphorbia ("cactus") hedges, and Kagoma (probably also Kaje and Jaba) had fortified hill-top retreats; but these appear largely to have been abandoned under British Administration.

(iii) *Dress, Adornment and Tribal Markings*

The unique article of dress which defines the Katab Group is the mushroom-shaped "lumbar ornament" worn by married women,[4] called *oyuan* or *oyam* by Meek, *kunnok* by W. M. Hynes. The earliest available photographs of it are those taken by Tremearne among Kaje and Kagoro (*c.* 1909) in *Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*. Comparison of these (or Temple's descriptions) with those of Meek some twenty years later reveals a striking change, from a thick wad of palm-fibre bound in the form of a blunt truncated cone, to a still bulkier article, now woven of fibre in the form of a mushroom, hung by the "stem" from a cord about the waist.[5] The remarkable thing is that changes in style seem to have affected all tribal sections of the Katab Group about equally; furthermore there seems to have been at no time any distinction in dress according to generation.[6] Bunches of leaves are worn in addition to the *oyam*.

[2] Superficial comparison with a vocabulary of Afusare shows, similarly, a clear though slight connection with both Kaje and Kagoro. M. G. Smith remarks that a Kagoro acquaintance on his first trip to Jos was able to converse with Afusare there. Greenberg, in a personal communication, stresses the interrelationship among Kaje, Irigwe, and Afusare.

[3] The Irigwe alone among their neighbours have adopted from the Katab peoples this style of house, but they, like Ataka and Kagoro, do not use it to the exclusion of the ordinary small round house.

[4] Kagoma women excepted; there is no information about Kaninkon.

[5] A possible clue to the form taken by the *oyam* in recent times is a style common in the western (nearest) sector of the Birom tribe (the vicinity of Hos): women of that area wear a circular tray of palm-fibre, but suspended from the edge rather than from the centre. Connections between the Birom of this area and their Katab neighbours have already been noted.

[6] At the present time, there are certain major differences which effectively set apart the women of one tribe from those of another: the absence or presence, and amount, of white beadwork, the diameter of the flat tray, and the length of the "stem," among the more prominent. According to Meek, the *oyam* is "frequently smeared" with red ochre: to-day the practice appears to be universal.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

103 According to Meek, the Katab proper (*Atyap*, in the vernacular), consist of the 162 following units:

361 613 614

Clan : population	*Sub-clan : population (with lineages)*	*Villages : population*	
Minyam : 3,602	Fakan : 915 (Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda)	Zonzon	227
		Sako	287
		Zarkwai	303
		Bakin Kogi (i) ..	48
	Aswen : 2,687 (Amurun-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Kofo, Magemmi or Magamiya)	Kibori	281
		Kurmin Masara ..	520
		Zaman Awon.. ..	243
		Zaman Dabo.. ..	785
		Magamiya	480
		Taligram (Taligan) ..	226
		Gidan Wuka	152
Shokwa : 200	(Kuzat, Kamantan)	Gora : 200	
		1,200.. ..	1,400
Agbat : 6,103	Kwak : 1,431 (Angwai, Tainchen, Telen)	Kurmin Gando ..	231
	Kpaisa : 1,557 (?)	Jankassa	1,150
		Magada Kura ..	407
	Nje : 3,115 (Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba)	Ungwar Gaya ..	908
		Fada Tsofuwa ..	467
		Gidan Karo	226
		Kurmin Dawaki ..	409
		Mabushi	1,105
Aku : 962	(Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon)	Ungwar Zaki ..	137
		Bakin Kogi (ii) ..	94
		Kigudu	132
		Kwaku	599
		Total	10,667

Lineages and villages are given here basically in the order in which they appear in Meek's tables: what has determined this order is not known.

103 Administrative units (Village-areas) of the Katab tribal area recognized by
361 Government in 1950 (with population figures of *c.* 1948): (*a*) Zonzon, 2,184; (*b*)
162 Zaman Dabo, 2,335; (*c*) Taligan, 1,116; (*d*) Gora, 3,238; (*e*) Jan Kasa, 2,162; (*f*) Ungwar Gaya, 3,566; (*g*) Gidan Jatau, 2,368: total, 20,315.[17] Unfortunately it is not possible to correlate in detail this list with Meek's, since the component hamlets of the various Village-areas cannot in all cases be identified with any certainty. It would appear, however, that (*a*) here corresponds with Meek's (1), (*d*) with (3), (*e*) with (4), (*f*) with (5), and (*g*) with (6); (*b*) and (*c*) together make up Meek's (2). (See also *Local Organs of Authority*, below.)

614 Cole found (1948–9) that the Katab tribe appeared to consist of three
613 exogamous clans, Nyam, Ku, and Baht, the first divided into four "kindreds," the second not divided, and the third into three "kindreds." The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. Thus, the Ikulu immigrants appear to have emerged as one or two "sub-clans" of Minyam, and Meek's Shokwa "clan" to have fused with Agbat as a "sub-clan." (See also under Ikulu, below.)

[17] No information is available to explain the difference between this figure (which, incidentally, does not include Zangon Katab Town) and the various totals given for the Katab tribe specifically—themselves showing striking differences.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

IKULU

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Little information is available concerning the people generally termed Ikulu or Ikolu in the literature.[47] According to Brice-Smith, they call themselves *Ankulu*: the meaning of this name is not indicated.

The latest population figures available for Zaria Province as a whole (N.A. Census of 1948–9) indicate that the Ikulu tribe is found exclusively in Zangon Katab District, where they number 5,961: the bulk of these are found in the northern quarter of the District, north of the main centres of Kaje and Katab concentration, but their hamlets and farms are reported to be intermingled with farms of Kaje (and Katab) pioneers pushing forward out of the more thickly settled areas to the south, and those of Kamantan, to the west. Predominantly Ikulu Village-areas are (figures returned *c.* 1948): Anchuna, 1,596; Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956; Padan (=Fadan) Ikulu, 1,042; total, 5,594. Besides Ikulu in the north, however, there are a number of communities to the south and east of the District among Katab, Atsam, and others: many of these appear to have been absorbed by the local society, but in some cases (e.g., Kwiambana Ikulu, in Pari Village-area of Chawai) they appear to have preserved their identity; it is not known which if any of these emigrant Ikulu are included in the 1948–9 total for the District (and Province).[48]

Before the Ikulu of Kachia District were transferred to Zangon Katab, *c.* 1925, the three Ikulu Village-areas named above appear already to have emerged as distinct entities, with recognized heads; further, they appear to have simply absorbed the Ikulu hamlets which came to the District from Kachia. The possibility that Kamuru may occupy the position of *primus inter pares* is discussed below. It should be noted that the Ikulu Village-area heads do not administer the immigrant Kaje among them, according to Reynolds: these Kaje are still dependent on their parent villages in the south, through which they continue to pay their taxes.

Meek states (in MS. notes) that the Ikulu are sub-divided into four "wife-stealing" units[49] distributed among the villages—which are basically exogamous units (cf. Kaje, below)—as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*
Ekawranyi	Dissin Ungvya Unduru Ikum
Unchera	?
Ampak	Balto Ansong Lisum
Ayinti	Kunyekuni Kito

Of the villages named, only Balto can be tentatively identified as Bato, in the immediate vicinity of Fadan Ikulu. It may well be that the villages of each "wife-stealing" unit are interspersed among those of the remainder, but it is not

[47] In a report, "Ethnographical notes on Wurkun District, Adamawa Province," Meek refers to Ikulu as "the Ba-Kulu of Zaria Province": in *Tribal Studies* he notes that "the Kaje . . . call . . . the Ikulu the Bakulu," whence, apparently, he has adopted the name.

[48] Kwiambana Ikulu in 1950 had a total population of 161; adult males, 35. See also below.

[49] Presumably units outside of which secondary wives must be sought, though the term appears to be used in both inclusive and exclusive senses. Meek notes also that a man does not seek a secondary wife in a village from which he has taken a primary wife: it is not clear from this whether the "wife-stealing" unit is endogamous, perhaps, so far as primary marriage is concerned.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

361 known whether the Village-areas themselves are compact territorial units, or whether the component hamlets of the three areas named are, perhaps, interspersed. It may be that each of the four " wife-stealing " units is to be found exclusively in a single Village-area, and the fact that there is one more " wife-stealing " unit than there are Village-areas does not preclude this possibility (cf. Agbat Kokwak and Shokwa, among Katab).

621 The apparent breakdown of the Aswen sub-clan, Katab tribe, into two equal political units (Village-areas) has been mentioned already. One of these, called Taligan[50] by Administration, may represent the emergence of a self-conscious Ikulu community in the Katab tribal area, though it seems more likely that it is simply a new Minyam sub-clan, and that " Ikulu " of Katab are " more Katab " than ever.

Traditions of Origin: Affiliations: Cultural Details

173 Nothing is reported directly concerning indigenous traditions of origin. The earliest speculation on the subject appears to be summarized by Temple, that Ikulu (as also Kamantam; see below) are " off-sets " of Kadara. Meek quotes the Kadara chief of Ankuwa (Kachia District) to the effect that Kadara, Ikulu, Kaje, and Srubu " are of the same stock " (Ikulu were actually counted as Kaje in the Census of 1931); one report states that there are ties (nature not specified) between the Kadara village of Agunu (Kachia District) and Ikulu.[51] In any case these tribes have certainly influenced each other as close neighbours, and the Ikulu are said to have introduced mat-weaving—typically a Kadara craft—into the Katab area. A closer linguistic affinity between Ikulu and Kadara may also be implied by Meek's description of Ikulu as " a section of the Kadara tribe."

105 Culturally, Meek declares Ikulu to be in all respects a participant in the Katab culture-complex, [52] with the exception that a man does not contract affinal marriage with his father's widows,[53] and that in the case of secondary marriage divorce is possible.

Distinctive cultural traits noted by Meek are as follows: as among Katab, the child is delivered in the father's compound and the mother returns to her parental compound for an undisclosed period after one or two months. A girl's marriage—including the collection of marriage-payments—is arranged by her paternal grandfather or by her father's elder brother. Formerly, marriage was by capture, without the girl's consent, and payments were made afterwards. A common grave is used by members of a family: though contrasting with general Katab practice, common graves are used by both Kadara and Kurama (formerly). The high god is termed *Agwa pan*, which Meek translates " lord of the moon."[54] There is said to be an annual spring festival (concerning which no details are given) and at acha harvest farms and houses are sprinkled with porridge made of the new corn. There appears to be a *dodo* cult among Ikulu identical with the common Katab *obwai*.[55]

Ikulu, like most of their neighbours, were apparently head-hunters.

[50] At Kwiambana Ikulu, in the Chawai tribal area, there appear to be two exogamous units, Ambaro and Taligan, which name is patently the same as that of the Katab Village-area. It is not clear, however, whether the Taligan of Kwiambana brought their name from the Katab Village-area or whether both brought the name independently from Ikulu.

[51] None of the names of villages and units cited above corresponds with names listed by Smith among either Ajure or Adara (Kadara proper) of Kajuru District, to the north, to indicate ties in that direction.

[52] Including even the *oyam*, apparently: Meek notes that Ikulu do not intermarry with northern Kadara of Kajuru (perhaps Ajure is meant) because Kadara women are naked.

[53] Their disposition is not indicated, though senior and junior levirate marriages obtain, as among Katab.

[54] Cf. Kaje, etc., *Agwam*, chief, Kaje *fuan*, moon. Katab and various other members of the group seem to have a high regard for the moon, though the Katab high god appears to be primarily a rain god.

794 [55] A. D. Percival, writing in 1932, describes the Ikulu *dodos* and states that " their ritual and their tall houses have . . . been spread by purchase throughout Katab." He is the only

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2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

622 not a traditional entity." Smith's field data bear out Cole's statement that in 1905 the ritual leaders designated a man of Kamang when the British enquired after a chief. It would appear that the chieftaincy developed in a contact situation, and it seems to be more than a mere coincidence that a man of Kpashan, the "ritually inferior" moiety should have been put forward, when such a move is seen to conform to a pattern to which the well attested exceptions are rare.[73] Smith notes that the chieftaincy has progressed in two generations "from . . . a thing of derision" to "an object of competition," and states that the present chief has developed a
622 system of councils integrated with the clan organization and with the two main
623 groups produced by culture contact, the village chiefs, and the literate young men. Three delegates—the village chief, a village elder, and a literate young man—are selected by each village council, and these delegates meet with the chief every three months to form the tribal council, in which common affairs of interest are discussed and proposals made. Village councils are composed of three similar persons from each clan—the clan head, another elder, and a literate young man—but meet under the village chief more frequently. Proposals accepted by the tribal council are referred back to village councils and, from them, go to the level of clan discussion, the popular feeling being expressed at the next meeting by the delegates, when decisions for action are taken.

361 No detailed information is available on form of settlement, though the implication of all accounts seems to be that compounds and *kwai* are fairly widely scattered, apart from a few concentrations (as at Fadan Kagoro in the vicinity of the railway station): this situation is incident to Administration's dispersal, early in this century, of the hill villages (in all probability, more compact), to the local system of land tenure and to farming methods (shifting cultivation). No Kagoro village to-day is anything like simple in structure: of the villages analysed above only Dussai, Kadarko, Mafok, and Makabun are entirely Ankwei (no village is entirely Kpashan), and each of these constitutes a collection of *kwai*, while the remaining seven villages are structurally complex entities with representatives of both moieties.

621 In general, it appears that one Ankwei *kwai* in each village is recognized by all other *kwai* in the village as ritually paramount:[74] each *kwai* has its own leaders, but
618 the leaders of the paramount (because senior in the area) *kwai* in the past, at least, were the leaders of the village; according to Smith, each village has responded to Administration by casting up a civil or secular chief, whose prestige and authority have steadily grown to some extent at the expense of the power of the priests.[75] At the present time the chief duty of the "community-chief" (title, *agwom*) is "to provide members of the community with land and house-sites for settlement."[76]

621 Similarly, what might be termed a secular territorial unit has emerged to mediate between the *kwai*, as a territorial unit, and the village: this is the ward (Hausa, *ungwa*), a unit which Smith appears to regard as having been defined entirely arbitrarily and by Administration. It would seem that a ward may include within its boundaries several contiguous *kwai* or even lineages, whether or not related, thus cutting across *kwai* boundaries."[77] It is strongly implied, if not stated, that these wards have civil heads.

793 The title of the chief priest of the village is *tienwhop*, to use Smith's ortho-

[73] Cf. footnotes on Warjawa organization in Gwaram (Kano), p. 26, above.

[74] How Kata lineage of Kadau *kwai*, Kpashan moiety, at Fadan Kagoro, shares in Ankwei ritual (see p. 90, above) there is not specified.

[75] No information is available regarding the principle upon which this functionary was originally chosen (especially the moiety from which chosen).

[76] It is surprising that the *agwom* should be a recent innovation in view of Kagoro's tradition of a Plateau origin; among Aten and Birom in their Plateau homeland, *gwom* = priest chief. Data from Kaje tribe, as from Katab, appear to agree with Kagoro in this.

[77] Smith indicates, however, that though in the villages members of a clan may share a clearly defined area, the farms of members of distinct *kwai* are commonly interdigitated, outside the villages. Cf. discussion of wards in Ningi District, p. 15, above.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka

162 District, who claim to have been isolated from their close kin and neighbours in Moroa District by the boundary drawn by Administration some 30 years earlier.

101 According to Meek, the origin of the name Moroa, (Morwa, Maruwa) is unknown.[97] The people to whom this name is applied by Hausa and by Europeans call themselves Asolio (Osholio, Aholio).[98] According to Tremearne, Asolio claim to have migrated from Zaria (Meek specifies Yelwa, immediately to the north in Zangon Katab District; see Kachichere, p. 83, above) via Kafanchan to their present site.[99] Smith was told by Kagoro informants that Kagoro and Aten (of Ganawuri) were in contact in the area now designated Moroa District and in more or less continual conflict; when the ancestor of the Moroa tribe (Shaliyot) approached them to ask for land, he was given the area bordering on Ganawuri, the present Moroa District. It is of some interest that Asolio constitute the only sizeable " tribal " group in this entire area contained largely in a single District.

131 Ataka (Attakka; commonly rendered Atakar by Hausa scribes) occupy the eastern half of Kagoro Rock, from the environs of Kadarko, in Kagoro District, and also the lower-lying areas south and east in Moroa District and beyond to the foot of the Plateau escarpment, across the borders of Jema'a District and the Birom Tribal Area, as far as Nimbia (Gwandara or Karshe " tribe ") and Assob (Birom).

101 The origin and meaning of the name is nowhere stated, but it conforms so closely to Katab forms that it seems likely to be indigenous: according to Ames, Ataka were traditionally co-residents with Aten of an area at the centre of which the present-day village of Takwot is located, which suggests one possible origin and meaning.[100]

161 The exact number of Ataka residing outside Moroa District is uncertain. The Census of 1931 gives 2,873 as the total number of Ataka in all areas (in 1921 Ataka were classified with Kagoro and Moroa); in 1934 A. B. Mathews counted some 384 in Jema'a District alone; the N.A. Census of 1948–9 returned 669 in Kagoro District; no count is available for Ataka of the Birom Tribal Area. A round figure of 5,000 is suggested for Ataka in all areas at the present time.

Social Structure: Local Organs of Authority: Miscellaneous Cultural Details

631 The history of the administration of Moroa District has been uneventful, probably because Moroa early developed a *modus vivendi* with the powers of the region—Kajuru and/or Kauru, and the Hausa and Fulani kings of Zaria—so that a central authority grew up around the Chief of Manchok (" Agwam Asholio " in Provincial Records).

It was stated in 1934, at the time of the transfer of Moroa District from Plateau to Zaria Province, that " the District contains 24 villages " presumably including Asolio, Ataka, and one Katab (Kaura), " the heads of which are responsible direct to the Agwam Asholio "—this state representing a degree of fragmentation unequalled in this part of Zaria, at least, and perhaps going far to explain the relative stability of the District.

361 There is no record in Zaria of subsequent reorganization, grouping these villages into a limited number of " Village-areas." A total of only 19 villages for the District was found in the Village Directory of the Northern Provinces (Census of 1931), however. Only 14 of these can be identified as Asolio:

[97] As Meek traces Asolio to the Chawai (Atsam) tribal area of Zangon Katab District, it may be recalled that Reynolds found among Atsam evidence of a double unilineal system, the largest matrilineal unit bearing the name " Marowan".

[98] Cf. Shaliyot, given by Smith's Kagoro informants as Moroa " tribal ancestor."

[99] Cf. Traditions of Kurama, the people of Kauru District, and the Katab. Meek gives " Asalio " as the name of a lineage of the " aboriginal " Aku clan of Katab (see table, p. 72, above, *Religious Beliefs*, below).

[100] Cf. Takwot and Ataka (Atakar).

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
MOROA
ATAKA

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	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mahuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243),[102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwa*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

Zangon Katab District, but it seems probable that precisely those areas inhabited by Kaje (see map) are the most densely populated in both Districts, so that the actual difference, from the point of view of Kaje, may be negligible.

The Kaje tribal area is drained by the Kogum-Mada system, which flows southward to the Benue, and by the headwaters of the Gurara, which empties westwards into the Niger. The country is generally undulating and parklike, not thickly wooded apart from the numerous gullies (*kurmi;* cf. Kagoro and Jaba). East of the railway line between Kankada and Suryam on the Kagoro boundary, there is a considerable extent of marshy ground. Three ranges of hills cross the area, one running north and south, near Zonkwa, and two, extending approximately north-east and south-east, from Afana to Farman, and from Kaban to Kamurun Ikulu, respectively.

Reynolds suggests that Kaje may be the Hausa corruption of the indigenous name, Baju, meaning "people of one language." Kaje is said also to be a tribal ancestor's name.

Social Organization

Kaje villages and hamlets of Zangon Katab District are grouped into 11 Village-areas, among which are distributed six "tribal sections" or clans, according to Reynolds.[109]

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Baiduang	Zonkwa Kurmin Bi Madauci Zonkwa (Hausa)	*Zonkwa*	3,757
	Zuturung Fama Kangurara Zuturung Mugu	*Zuturung*	*1,538 : 5,295*
Baimbin	Suryan Aduan Arebot Kankada Wadon	*Suryan*	1,993
Bainturung	Gidan Jatau Abet Asankwai Farman Ipam Kanyem Unguwar Jatau	*Gidan Jatau*	2,813
Baintsok	Fadan Kaje Rumfa Tsofon Gida	*Fadan Kaje*	1,506
	Fadiya Mugu Fadiya Bosan Fadiya Bukut Fadiya Yazanu Kahon Aruwan Kahon Dok Zagon Finfa Zagon Gajere	*Fadiya*	*2,409 : 3,915*

[109] Cf. Meek, *Tribal Studies*, II, pp. 101–2.

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Kaje

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"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Banewhan	Afana	*Afana*	1,185
	Katsik		
	Gidan Tagwai	*Gidan Tagwai*	1,704
	Amfan		
	Bakin Kogi		
	G. Tagwai Hausa		
	Makera Hausa		
	Kamurun Kaje	*Kamurun Kaje*	1,979
	Kurdan		
	Sokwap		
	Zauru		
	Marsa	*Marsa*	*2,227 : 7,095*
	Chanchu		
	Kunye		
	Rikawan		
Batadon	Madakiya	*Madakiya*	3,396
	Atat		
	Ayagan		
	Bodari		
	Bonkwa		
	Hausawan Matsirgas		
	Hurjam		
	Kauraje		

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Kaje appear early to have become subject to the Kajuru kingdom which dominated the whole of the Kachichere Plateau till the Jihad, and thereafter to the Fulani: in the middle of the last century, Kaje were divided between Zaria and Jema'a Emirates, and remained so under the British till 1934, when the whole of Banewhan and Batadon, and parts of Baimbin and Bainturung tribal sections were transferred from Jema'a to Zangon Katab District of Zaria.

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At the present time the Kaje area of Zangon Katab is organized and administered as follows. Each recognized village or hamlet within each Village-area has its own civil head: these presumably retain the old title of ***agwam***.[110] Subordinate to the hamlet-head may be one or more titled messengers, and a number of ward (Hausa *unguwa*) heads, entitled Madaki (Hausa title), if formally invested by the Village-area head, or Mai-unguwa (Hausa), in the interim. In addition, each hamlet normally has another official, also bearing a Hausa title, Magajin gari; he is either a retired hamlet-head, or a senior relative, who advises the hamlet-head, and acts for him in his absence.

According to Reynolds, one of the hamlets is selected on historical grounds to be, administratively, the senior hamlet of the Village-area. The head of this hamlet automatically becomes the Village-area head. Whether wards within hamlets are similarly arranged in order of seniority is not clear. The Village-area head bears the title Magaji (Hausa, plural Magadai). Each Village-area has, further, a Jekada, a resident representative of the Katuka (the District head, himself the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Zangon Katab): he is essentially a messenger between the Magaji and the Katuka (cf. Wakili, below).

Resident at Zonkwa, the Wakilin Kaje (Hausa, "Minister to Kaje"), whose particular title is Sarkin Fada (Hausa, approximately "Major-domo"), is the Katuka's "mouthpiece" in the Kaje tribal area, as the several Jekadu are his "ears." The net result of this system is to bring the Village-area heads individually to terms, as it were, with the District head, though the post of Wakili is a tacit recognition of the essential integrity of the Kaje "tribe." One of the Jekadu in the Kaje area, further serves as a sort of tribal scribe under the Wakili.

[110] See below. Reynolds, whose analysis of Kaje titles is otherwise meticulous, inexplicably fails to give the indigenous title of the hamlet-head.

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Jaba
Kagoma

794 As suggested already, the *ku* cult, like the Katab *obwai*, appears to function as a device for the control of women. Even if held in some contempt by the initiated, privately, it apparently still looms large in the sum of religious beliefs of women and children, hence of the whole community. Bringing together Meek's account of initiation and Temple's account of the memorial feast at " the Magajin dodo's house " (almost surely a reference to the *ku* priest), it would appear that the Jaba *ku* cult is, paraphrasing Meek's description of the Katab *obwai*, " a public cult associated apparently with the private ancestral cult."

825 According to Meek, "all Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals."[127] Members of the " Madaki's ward " of Kwoi, for example, are believed to have the power of turning themselves into leopards. No member of the ward may kill a leopard, and if members of, for example, the Chief's ward should kill one they bring the carcase to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, " We have killed your son, come and bury him." They then run home, for if they were caught they would be charged with murder. The carcase is taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men where it is ceremonially skinned, with the finger nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by grown-up men, boys receiving some of the " juice." Meek did not discover any other specific associations between local and kin groupings and natural species. As has been noted above, under *Life Cycle*, girls are said to be " initiated into the wer-animal rites," but the passage describing this is not easy to interpret.

797 No investigator has commented on the influence of the single Protestant mission, long-established in the area, on indigenous religious beliefs, or on any other aspect of Jaba culture.

Kagoma

Location: Population: Affiliations

131 The bulk of the Kagoma "tribe " inhabits the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Emirate and Division, Plateau Province (see below).

162 The last available complete figures for the Kagoma of Jema'a date from 1934, when Mathews estimated the population of their sector at 6,126 pagans and 120 361 Moslems (who are likely to have been largely Hausa, Fulani, and Rumada). Their chief villages here appear to be Fadan Kagoma (seat of the Moslem District head), 103 Asau (Aso), Gabi, Gigira, and Keya. There is a Kagoma salient in the Yeskwa sector of the District, along the Zaria border, centring about the village of Kwarabe. Also in the Yeskwa sector, along the unofficial boundary between the two sectors and east of Kwarabe, lie the villages of Kano, Kirti, and Kusan: these are apparently Kagoma in origin and if so no doubt still have a Kagoma population, but are classified nowadays by Administration as Jaba, having apparently received over the years numbers of immigrants from Jaba Independent District, Zaria Province, in search of farm-lands (on loan, according to Cole).[128] One village or hamlet of unknown size, Unguwar Dogo, lies immediately south of Jagindi, in Jema'a District. Kagoma settlements are to be found outside Plateau Province, beyond the border of Jaba District, in the vicinity of Kurya, and along the border of Yeskwa District in Benue Province near Gitata, with populations of 484 and 85 respectively. The total number of Kagoma may thus be as little as 7,000 at present.

161 Only Temple's figure for the area of Kagoma settlement—166 square miles—is available, making a density of population of 42 per square mile, perhaps an 133 excessively low figure, since the Kagoma area is an extremely rugged one, broken by an 800-ft. escarpment, the southern half deeply cut by kurmi.

173 Traditions of origin seem to be lacking, though Mathews reports that Kagoma in the region of Kirti " say that they sprang from places in the hills near where they now live."

[127] Cf. in particular Butawa, farther above.
[128] Kwagiri in this same area is identified on Divisional maps at Kafanchan as Kaninkon.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGOMA

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwana*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to "acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. "The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that "their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[139] Their "dodo" cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a "loincloth," and Tremearne as "a little strip of cloth."

[139] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: "They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma

It has been suggested that they formed part of a large group which migrated from the north-west of Zaria, which includes the Kagoro, Attakka, Jaba, Kaje, Kaura and Moroa, to whom they show a certain affinity in language, customs and dress. 101

They speak a dialect of their own, and the majority know Haussa also. 197 191

Their Chief, "Dem," pointed out to Osuman, first Emir of Jemaa, the desirability of the site, and voluntarily paid tribute to Zaria through Jemaa. Circ. 1859 A.D. they ceased to pay, and a large proportion of the population were burnt out in caves in the resulting punitive expedition. Small raids continued until 1894, when they were finally subdued by the Filane and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emir of Jemaa, to whom the Kagoma District head is now responsible. 648 175

The two acknowledged crimes were murder and theft. A murderer was required to give a bull to the bereaved family, whilst a thief was detained until his relatives paid a horse to the Sarkin Jemaa and two goats to his captors. 682 685

They are excellent agriculturists. Boys are given miniature hoes at the age of three years old. 241 524

They are of good physique. 192

The men wear a triangular-shaped leather loin-covering, or a skin that hangs from the shoulder, and bind their beards with grass. They carry wooden swords. 291

Virgins wear an apron of green strings ornamented with cowries and brass bells. Married women wear a loin-cloth. 291 301

Nearly all the villages are situated on the top of the hills, amongst almost inaccessible rocks. The huts are of mud, surmounted by conical-shaped grass roofs. The interior is divided into three partitions by means of mud-arches projecting from the wall.* 361 342

A girl may be betrothed before her birth, the *fiancé* undertaking that should the unborn babe prove to be a boy he will be its friend all through life. Such an arrangement is, however, of rare occurrence, the custom being for a girl to be engaged to the first man who gives her parents a fowl and bespeaks her after her birth. The suitor further gives her father a hoe or 2,000 cowries every year, until the girl has arrived at marriageable age at about ten years; as the marriage day approaches he gives the bride's father a further present of five chickens. On the day itself, six of his boy friends enter her parents' house, where she is hidden amongst the women, find and capture her, and take her to one of the groom's female relations. They return at night, give the custodian a chicken and take the bride to the groom's house, where he is awaiting her with three male friends who proceed to address the young pair on the duties 584 585

* *Vide* Jaba, p. 163.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma
Kagoro

the day that they begin to walk their father invites the whole village to a beer orgy. 862

The ceremonies that take place upon death are identical with those practised by the Jaba. A Kagoma widow, however, only mourns for one month and can marry again in the second. Under no circumstances can a woman inherit. 764 [587] [428]

They believe that a departed spirit can return to earth as a shooting star and re-enter upon a fresh sphere of human existence. 775

Sons inherit the whole property, but the younger brother of the deceased has the first choice of the widows. Failing sons, brothers inherit. 428

They believe in an all-powerful god. 776

KAGORO.

AUTHORITIES:

Mr. H. F. Mathews. Major Tremearne.

The Kagoro have a population approaching some 8,500 in number and occupy an area of about 110 square miles in the Jemaa Division, on the northern and western faces of a ridge of mountains, known as Kagoro, which runs from Bauchi into Nassarawa. 131 161

Most of the towns are built at the foot of these hills, where the land is very fertile and large crops of corn, principally maiwa, which is almost exclusively used for drink, and beans are raised. The beans are the property of the women and are grown on trellises, like vines, and form the principal food of the people. Manure from fowls, and goat-dung and ashes are used. Cattle are not kept and there are no markets. 361 241 [273] [23]

In old days the Kagoro lived underground and went to their farms through underground tunnels, owing, they say, to the place being over-run with wild beasts. The villages are now surrounded with high cactus hedges, which grow to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet. In most cases each compound and each field is encircled by one of these. At the entrance the hedges overlap on the principle of a swivel-ring for keys. The walls of the huts are of mud and the roofs of thatch, which latter are renewed every year after the harvest. Each woman has her own house, which is accessible through one, or sometimes two, doors, two and a half to three feet in height. The entrance commonly leads into a low narrow verandah, but sometimes straight into a sort of hall which runs along the whole width of the house, and is used for storing pots, etc. A feature of the doorways is that each one is double and in between each is 173 361 342

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life. 682

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree. 684 695

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan. 428 [431]

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation. 142 273

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips. 291 302 [554] 291 [301]

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it. 241 231 224 674

Their arms are the bow and arrow. 911

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs [361] 342

together in one household then it was probable that they were farming their lands together though this was not an infallible sequitur. Where, however, a man was listed as a separate householder it could be categorically stated that in that case the family lands had been divided and the householder was living and farming on his own with no other relations than his children. The tax lists for 1947 shew that in no case were more than six adult males living and farming together. One or two cases were found of six adult males farming together; a small number of cases of four or five; but the vast majority of compounds consisted of no more than one, two or three adult males. The average number of adult males per compound is 1.6 and the average number of persons eight.

23. Unfortunately the tax lists for the pre-war years have all been destroyed and an interesting comparison has been lost. A few of the tax sheets for 1939 were found and the same average number of 1.6 males per compound was found shewing that the breakdown has existed for a number of years. It is universal throughout the district. Discussion with the Elders confirmed this situation.

24. The extent of the breakdown appears to be greater here than in the adjoining Katab district of the Emirate. The reasons for it lie in the circumstances set out in paragraph 20 above, *i.e.*, the kindred holding concept was undermined from the very start owing to the fragmentation of the kindred lands. Another contributory factor is that the advent of peace and security has removed the sanctions which formerly made group or communal living if not absolutely necessary then advisable in the extreme. With the perpetual threat of a Fulani raid it would have needed a major family convulsion to cause a man to leave the security and mutual protection afforded by communal living. Nowadays the merest family tiff will result in the individual demanding his portion of the family lands and going off to farm on his own.

25. It cannot be said, at the moment, that the breakdown has occasioned any grave *local* social problem. The lands that were so precariously available to the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation were more than ample for their greatest needs had they been allowed to farm with security. These lands have been divided and sub-divided; but there still remains to the present day users a sufficiency for their needs and something to spare. It is true that the various fields are widely scattered. But, points out the Elder, this fragmentation is something that the Kagoro has always been accustomed to and presents no novel feature

[p. 6]

61. The truth of the matter is as stated in paragraph 44 above. The Jaba who accepted the Fulani domination retained their tribal lands. They still have them. And there are acres and acres to spare. Those who resisted were squeezed into the remnants of land to the South where there was little or any to spare. Pressure of population, incipient land hunger and the spirit of independence, which must have been there, have led to the individualisation of the Jaba Kwoi and accelerated the breakdown to individual tenure. The youths would not go off to the mines if there was abundance at home on the lands available to them. Their relations across the border have had none of this to cope with. Nor did they have their social structure rudely broken up and disintegrated. 184 178

62. The fact remains, however, that within the Emirate the kindred concept remains and is still operative. 612 Kindred holding of lands still existent.

63. Amongst the Kachia Jaba the land pattern is similar to that of the Jaba Kwoi, *i.e.*, compact hamlets or villages standing in the middle of their farmlands and outside these farmlands the villages " spare " lands. The Kagoro, Kaje and Katab do not live together in villages but prefer the small scattered hamlet and isolated farms. Amongst the Kagoro all lands were " allocated "; even the spare bush. Such is not the case with the Kachia Jaba; nor would it be the case, probably, amongst the Jaba Kwoi—had they any spare lands. The spare lands form a general pool for the particular unit within which they lie, *i.e.*, for the kindred. Any member of the kindred has a right to take up sufficient of the spare lands to meet his needs; but he must first of all obtain the Village Head's consent. A Wenyum man has the right to take up the lands he needs in the Wenyum Unit and, on allocation, the lands become inheritable by his kith and kin. A man of the Dun kindred who desired to take up spare lands in the Wenyum Unit would only be loaned the lands and it would always remain a loan. It would never become land of the Dun kindred. A Wenyum man who had inherited or been allocated land in the Wenyum Unit would be entitled to loan it to someone else, either from within or outside his kindred, without asking for anyone's consent. But he could neither give it nor sell it to anyone else, *i.e.*, he could do nothing that would deprive the kindred of its ultimate rights in the land. [621] [361] 423 612

64. Though the normal procedure is for farms to remain undivided until the father's death nevertheless, if a son demanded it and was married and of sufficient standing, the father would have to give him his share of the family holding. Women have no share or rights in a farm. Both farm and fallow are divided up; but there is no question of unallocated lands being divided up. A farm once Sub-division and inheritance. 423 [428] 593

73. Discussion of land tenure within this Hausa enclave is reserved for the section of the report dealing with Mohammedan Hausa tenure. We are here concerned with any deviations and divergences in this district's pagan tenure from that described in previous paragraphs.

Katab tenure breakdown to individual tenure.

74. Mr Barnicott, District Officer, reported in 1933:—

"Farming . . . . . particularly amongst the Katabawa is carried out on a semi-patriarchal basis. Nearly all the farms of each household belong to the head of the household and are handed down from generation to generation. The householder may not—and often does not—work on the farm himself but, as the owner, makes himself responsible for all the tax of the household; the junior members of the family and the women do the work and since the product of their labour is not strictly their own are not encouraged to accept responsibility for payment of tax".

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"The comparatively large area of seven acres is farmed by the average Katab family".

"The farm is run as a family concern and its produce cannot be apportioned . . . . . to each of the individual tax payers varying from one to as many as five or six who work on it".

75. Mr Elliott, District Officer, writes in 1943:—

"Each householder has a home farm in the immediate neighbourhood of his house. The home farm amounts to an area of about one to four acres—roughly an acre per adult male in the household. Then, anything up to four miles away in the open country round the village the householder has his main farm".

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"The size of the household is surprisingly small, perhaps indicating a recent tendency for families to split up and farm separately. The average household . . . . . consisted of an old man . . . . and a son who does all the farming who may perhaps be helped by a younger brother who is too young to pay tax. Out of the 142 farms surveyed the total number of the tax paying (*i.e.*, adult) farmers working them was no more than 205".

76. The following figures compiled from the 1947 tax lists (*see* paragraph 22 above) are of interest:—

Katab	(*a*) Average number of adult males per household	2.1
	(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound	11

Kaje	(*a*) Average number of adult males per household	3.0
	(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound	10
Chawai	(*a*) Average number of adult males per household	3.0
	(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound	13

77. The writer's own experience of the breakdown to individual tenure is that its extent is about half way between that found with the Kagoro and that found amongst the Jaba of the Kachia district. Farms run on the family basis are to be found side by side with farms run individually. Sub-division can take place before a father's death and a married son can demand and is given his individual share as with the Kagoro and Jabawa. Sub-division.

78. Sale, pledging, leasing or renting are not known. They would not be regarded as customary if they occurred. No actual case of its happening was discovered. The complete right of user and passing on of the right of user are acknowledged; but no transaction which would deprive relatives and inheritors of this right are acknowledged. Alienation.

79. Loan is widely practised. It is to all intents and purposes the same transaction as that described for the Kagoro with the substitution of the brewing and sharing of a pot of beer (cf. Jaba) for the gift of a chicken. The same rule as to the building of a house applies. It is of note, however, that whereas in the past loans would never be for a specific duration nowadays a loan is made for a specific period either for one, two or three years after which the borrower would be offered *another* field, if this were available, but in any case would have to leave the original field he had borrowed. There is no intention that loan shall compromise the original holder's title. Loan.

80. In one actual case investigated a man was farming a field close to one of his own and adjoining his house. Both this field and the land on which the house stood were borrowed land. He had inherited them from his father who had been loaned the land thirty years ago. The field was close enough to the house to be considered part of the home farm. For this reason the descendants of the original holder could not claim back the land. This fact and the fact that the land was loaned was admitted by both parties. So was the sequitur to the facts. The descendants of the original holder of the land knew, however, that the moment

426 the present occupier vacated or moved his house they could get the land back.

Authority in land matters.

614 627 81. The Katab tribe appears to consist of three exogamous clans—Nyam, Ku and Baht. The first named is divided into four kindreds, the second is not divided and the third into three kindreds. The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. It would need more time than was available to establish the relationship—if any. It would appear, however, that at the present time neither the kindred nor clan elders claim the right to settle disputes. A farmer aggrieved by his father's division of the lands, for example, would complain to the village (kindred) elders who would try to effect or compromise. If they failed the matter would be brought up to the tribal elders who alone would be competent to insist that their decision be accepted.

82. The word insist has been deliberately used instead of enforce. The elders were at pains to point out that they would never require force to achieve their end. They would advise, then [626] coax or persuade; if that failed then social pressure would be exerted—ridicule, ostracism and, though it was not mentioned, probably a reminder of the potency of the " tsafi "—the tribal drum. At any rate in the end the disputants would accept the decision. And they had never known it to fail (cf. paragraph 69).

Unallocated lands.

423 241 83. As mentioned in paragraph 72 the Katab have little, if any, spare lands. All land in their area is claimed by some individual or family either as his or their farm or fallow—as with the Kagoro. It is not apparent that land hunger has set in—yet. Land can still be obtained freely on loan if one's own inherited lands are insufficient. Some families, reduced by death and disease, have more than they can use and are quite willing to loan it. Indeed, some of the elders complained that nowadays there were insufficient people to farm the lands properly since, if a man had four sons two would probably go off to the Mission and having gone away would no longer be interested in farming but would go off into some other non-agricultural pursuit. Whatever truth there may be in this statement the fact remains that some farmers find it impossible to follow the normal farm and fallow rotation and so adopt the "shifting compound " cultivation. The home farms are occupied with the house in the middle of them thus ensuring that their fertility is kept up by constant manuring; the " bush " farm is worked till its productivity becomes dangerously low. The whole household then moves *en bloc* to the " bush " farm which then becomes the " home " farm and is brought back into good fettle by manuring. The " home " farm has in the meantime [361] become the " bush " farm—and so the process goes on. This

probably explains why the Katab scene consists of so many isolated single compounds widely scattered throughout the country side. There are no large villages or small towns. 241 423 361

84. There are few aspects of the Kaje land tenure system which would not be familiar to either the Katab or the Kagoro. There is the same gradual breakdown to an individual basis—though perhaps not to the same extent; the same denial to the individual of any right to alienate permanently lands which he has inherited and is expected to pass on to his inheritors; the acknowledgement of a system of loaning with the token brewing of beer—a social obligation; the same attitude to the building of a house on borrowed lands and the same grace period for farming after he has removed his house. Pledge is not known. Kaje tenure. 423 178

85. The principal deviation from the Katab is in the vesting of the final authority in land matters. Here the Kaje system is almost identical with the Jaba of Kachia. The kindred as distinct from the tribal elders claim the final say. Authority in land matters. 184 423

86. Details of the kindreds and the territorial village units are:— 612 621 614

(*i*) Tsok—Fadan Kaje
Fadia
(*ii*) Dwan—Zuturu
Zonkwa
(*iii*) Turun—Firman
(*iv*) Tadon—Madakia
(*v*) Bin—Suriyan
(*vi*) Afwun—Afana
Ungwar Rimi
Marsah
Kamerun

[It is of interest to note, in parenthesis, that my anthropology may be a bit wrong. On returning from the area the following reference from an old report by Brice-Smith was discovered (1922):—

" The tribe is still in the family stage of evolution. As soon as an individual has made his position sufficiently strong by marriage he moves off and starts a hamlet by himself and no longer recognises the tribal head ".

He correlates the ' clans ' and territorial units as:—

Baindnang (leopard totem)—*Zonkwa*, *Zuturu*, Kurmin Bi. Madaichi
Baintao (crocodile totem)—*Fadan Kaje*, G. Tsofuwa, Rumfa, Kafo, Zagwon, *Fadiya*